

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 H-03 OIC-04 IO-14 OMB-01 SAM-01

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 04230

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: ARG MEETING, MAY 8, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE AHG CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF PREVIOUS DAY ABOUT NEGOTIATION TACTICS FOR PRESENT ROUND. UK REP (ROSE) ARGUED THAT PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE FORCED AND THAT ALLIES SHOULD MAKE NO SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSIONS WITHOUT SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS BY EAST ON COMMON CEILING AND PHASING. UK REP RESERVED POSITION ON ISSUE OF REDUCTIONS BY "ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" IN PHASE II PENDING DECISION BY HIS AUTHORITIES. ALL REPS AGREED INFORMAL SESSIONS SHOULD CONTINUE AND COMMISSIONED US REP TO CONTACT EASTERN REPS TO ARRANGE FOR FIRST

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SESSION. UK REP PRESSED FOR EARLY AND DETAILED DIS-

CUSSION WITH EAST ON DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND DATA
BASE. US REP ARGUED NEED TO TRY TO GAIN MOMENTUM THROUGH

FOCUSSING ON QUESTION OF PHASING BY CONCENTRATING INFORMAL
DISCUSSIONS ON "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM OUT-
SET," AND THEN TO TURN TO DATA. END SUMMARY.

2. THE AHG MEETING ON MAY 8, 1974 OPENED WITH AN OBSERVA-
TION BY THE FRG ACTING REP (HOFMANN) THAT THIS WAS THE
100TH MEETING OF THE GROUP SINCE OCTOBER 30. THE DISCUSSION
THEN TURNED TO CONTACTS WITH THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS AND
WITH AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES REGARDING FUTURE MEETINGS. THE
BELGIAN ACTING REP (BURNY) REPORTED THAT HE CONTINUED TO
BE UNABLE TO COORDINATE WITH THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS DUE
TO ABSENCE OF THEIR PRINCIPAL MEMBERS. THE BELGIAN ACTING
REP HAD THEREFORE INFORMED THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES THAT
THE WEST PLANNED FOR THE FIRST PLENARY MEETING OF THIS
NEGOTIATING SESSION TO BE HELD ON FRIDAY, MAY 10 BUT THAT
THE WEST HAD BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM THIS DATE WITH THE
WARSAW PACT.

3. UK STATEMENT

THE CHAIRMAN (DANISH REP TILLISCH) ASKED WHETHER ANY
MEMBER WISHED TO DISCUSS FURTHER THE SUBJECT OF TACTICS
FOR THIS REOUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAD BEEN OPENED ON
MAY 7 BY THE US REP. THE UK REP RESPONDED WITH A STATE-
MENT WHICH ADDRESSED THE CONDUCT, THE SUBSTANCE, AND
THE PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF THE COMING NEGOTIATIONS. THE
UK REP INTRODUCED HIS COMMENTS WITH THE REMARK THAT HE
ENDORSED THE SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY HIS COLLEAGUES ON
7 MAY CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE AGREED
WITH THE US REP THAT THERE WAS NO NEED, IN FACT IT COULD
BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE, TO ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE PACT OF
NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME. THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE
TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN PHASE I PROGRAM.
WHEN GUIDANCE IS RECIEVED FROM NATO, THE ALLIES CAN PRO-
CEED TO PROBE THE EAST FOR FLEXIBILITY OR MOVEMENT IN THE
EASTERN POSITION, USING AS NECESSARY HINTS OF THE ASSURANCES
AUTHORIZED BY THE NAC. THE UK REP EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER,
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THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIVE CONCES-
SIONS UNLESS SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS ARE RECEIVED FROM
THE OTHERSIDE ON THE COMMON CEILING AND PHASING.

4. WITH REGARD TO THE FOUR POSSIBLE ALLIED CONCESSIONS
WHICH THE US HAD RECOMMENDED TO THE NAC, THE UK REP
STATED THAT HE GENERALLY AGREED WITH THE FORMULATIONS
AS THEY WERE PRESENTED BY THE US IN BRUSSELS ON MAY 3

AND CIRCULATED TO THE AHG ON MAY 7 (TEXT IN USNATO 2411). THE UK REP NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WERE SOME AREAS OF THE US PRESENTATION WHICH WERE NOT IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH THE UK POSITION. THE UK REP CONTINUED THAT INASMUCH AS THESE QUESTIONS WERE UNDER DISCUSSION IN NATO NOW, HE WOULD NOT ADDRESS THEM IN DETAIL IN HE AHG. THE UK REP DID INDICATE THAT HE COULD PROBABLY SUPPORT ALL OF THE PROPOSED ASSURANCES TO THE EAST, EXCEPT THAT RELATING TO THE GUARANTEE OF PARTICIPATION OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN PHASE II, WHERE HE WOULD HAVE TO RESERVE AT THIS TIME IN ABSENCE OF DECISION FROM HIS AUTHORITIES.

5. THE UK REP THEN ADDRESSED PROCEDURES FOR NEGOTIATIONS, STATING THAT HE AGREED WITH THE CONCEPT OF ONLY ONE PLENARY MEETING EVERY TWO WEEKS, AND WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE INFORMAL SESSIONS AS PRESENTLY STRUCTURED AND AT A FREQUENCY OF ONE PER WEEK. THE UK REP CONTINUED THAT THE INITIAL INFORMAL SESSIONS SHOULD BE ON THE AGREED TOPICS OF WHOSE/WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET, THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES, AND THEN ENLARGED TO COVER DATA BASE. THE UK REP SUGGESTED THAT, DURING THE FORTHCOMING SESSIONS, THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK TO GO INTO MORE DETAIL ON THE POSITIONS THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE IN THE PAST. THE WEST SHOULD USE THE MEETINGS TO DEMONSTRATE THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL, AS WELL AS TO GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE TRUE EASTERN POSITION. (COMMENT: THIS REMARK REFLECTS DESIRE OF UK FONOFF OFFICIALS AS EXPRESSED TO US DEP REP IN RECENT LONDON VISITS TO GET BETTER IDEA OF SOVIET VIEW ON NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS. FONOFF OFFICIALS STATED THEY CONTINUED INTERESTED IN PROBLING POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING SOVIET NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS AS PART OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT AND THAT THEIR INTEREST IN LARGE-SCALE
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TANK REDUCTIONS HAD SOMEWHAT DECLINED.

6. THE UK REP CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS IN THIS AREA BY SUGGESTING THAT IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE FOR THE AHG TO DRAW UP A "TACTICS PAPER", SIMILAR TO THE PAPER DEVELOPED FOR THE PRECEDING NEGOTIATING SESSION, TO GUIDE THE ALLIES IN THIS COMING ROUND. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE CHAIRMAN CONCERNING THE TIMING OF SUCH A PAPER, THE UK REP AGREED THAT IT SHOULD PROBABLY WAIT UNTIL AFTER RECEIPT OF NAC GUIDANCE, HOPEFULLY EARLY NEXT WEEK.

PLENARY SESSIONS

7. THE CHAIRMAN INTRODUCED THE SUBJECT OF PLENARY MEETINGS BY NOTING THAT MANY MEMBERS FAVORED HOLDING

NO MORE THAN ONE PLENARY PER WEEK, SUGGESTING TO THE EAST THAT EASTERN AND WESTERN PRESENTATIONS BE ON ALTERNATING WEEKS, AND, IF THE EAST DOES NOT AGREE TO THIS ARRANGEMENT, MAKING IT KNOWN THAT THERE WOULD BE A WESTERN PRESENTATION ONLY ONCE EVERY OTHER WEEK REGARDLESS. THE AHG CONCURRED IN THE RECOMMENDATION, AGREEING ALSO THE PLENARIES SHOULD NORMALLY BE HELD ON THURSDAYS. THE AHG COMMISSIONED THE BELGIAN ACTING REP TO CONVEY WESTERN POSITION TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2744

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS; FROM US REP MBFR

INFORMAL SESSIONS

8. THE CHAIRMAN OBSERVED THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE A CONSENSUS WITHIN THE AHG THAT THE INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE PRODUCTIVE AND SHOULD BE CONTINUED. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE US DELEGATION SHOULD APPROACH THE OTHER SIDE INFORMALLY TO CONVEY

THE ALLIED VIEW THAT THESE SESSIONS WERE A TEMPORARY, PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENT AND TO SUGGEST THE CONTINUATION OF THE SCHEDULE OF ONE INFORMAL SESSION PER WEEK, WITH PARTICIPATION IN THE SESSIONS CONTINUING TO BE DETERMINED ACCORDING TO THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED PREVIOUSLY. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, THE AHG DECIDED TO PROPOSE THAT INFORMAL SESSIONS BE HELD ON TUESDAYS. THE CHAIRMAN ASKED THE AHG TO CONSIDER WHO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE FIRST INFORMAL SESSION. A DECISION WILL BE MADE IN A LATER AHG MEETING.

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9. THE NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) SUGGESTED THAT THE AHG THINK ABOUT THE SUBJECTS WHICH THE ALLIES MAY WANT TO RAISE IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE SUBJECTS OF "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET" AND "WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED" HAD BEEN SUGGESTED, BUT PROPOSED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD REACH EXPLICIT AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST THAT THESE WILL BE THE SUBJECTS OF INFORMAL DISCUSSION. THE US DEP REP EXPLAINED THAT THE EAST HAD AT THE LAST INFORMAL SESSION CONFIRMED THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE FIRST SUBJECT WAS TO BE ADDRESSED UPON RESUMPTION OF THE SESSIONS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT RAISE THE QUESTION AGAIN WITH THE EAST, BUT SIMPLY ACT ON BASIS THAT THEY WILL LIVE UP TO THE AGREEMENT. REGARDING THE QUESTION OF THE SPECIFIC CONTENT OF THE DISCUSSION IN THE FIRST INFORMAL SESSION, THE US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT A RECAPITULATION OF THE QUESTION OF "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED" WOULD BE USEFUL. WHILE THERE IS AGREEMENT ON THE GENERAL IDENTITY OF THE SUBJECTS TO BE ADDRESSED THEREAFTER, AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE REACHED ON THE SEQUENCE AND THE DETAIL IN WHICH THE SUBJECTS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED.

10. THE UK REP SAID HE AGREED WITH THE POINTS MADE BY THE US DEP REP, BUT THOUGHT THE AHG SHOULD IN DUE COURSE ALSO DECIDE HOW TO HANDLE THE QUESTION OF "DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES", THE DISCUSSION OF WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD WOULD CONTINUE. HE OBSERVED THAT THE EAST WOULD PROBABLY REPLY TO THE DEFINITIONS PUT FORTH BY THE ALLIES PREVIOUSLY AND SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO ENGAGE THE EAST IN A DISCUSSION OF DATA.

11. THE US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PUT UNITED EMPHASIS ON THE SUBJECT OF "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET" IN ORDER TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD THE ALLIED OBJECTIVE ON PHASING. TO ADDRESS OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS AT AN EARLY POINT COULD DIVERT EASTERN ATTENTION FROM THIS MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION. HE SUGGESTED THAT IF AFTER THE SECOND OR THIRD SESSION, THE EAST APPEARS UNRESPONSIVE ON PHASING, WHETHER FOR CSCE OR OTHER REASONS, THEN THE AHG COULD CONSIDER MOVING TO THE QUESTION OF DATA

OR OTHER SUBJECTS. UNTIL THEN, HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT IT ADVIS-
ABLE TO TRY TO GENERATE SOME MOMENTUM ON PHASING.

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12. THE UK REP SAID HE DID NOT DISAGREE WITH THE US DEP REP,
BUT SUGGESTED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE PROSPECT OF FORWARD MOVE-
MENT ON THE QUESTION OF PHASING WITHOUT NATO GUIDANCE ON
AREAS OF FLEXIBILITY. HE SUGGESTED THAT TWO SESSIONS ON
"WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET" WOULD BE
THE MOST THE ALLIES COULD MANAGE WITHOUT THIS GUIDANCE, SO
THAT A THIRD SESSION SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO DEFINITIONS. HE
ARGUED THAT THE SUBJECT OF DEFINITIONS OF GROUND FORCES
SHOULD NOT BE PUT OFF TOO LONG SINCE IT IS A NECESSARY FIRST
STEP TOWARD ENGAGING THE EAST IN AN OVERALL DISCUSSION OF
THE DATA BASE FOR REDUCTIONS. THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE)
NOTED THAT THE AHG WAS STILL EXPECTING NATO GUIDANCE BY MAY
14, WHICH WAS BEFORE THE FIRST INFORMAL SESSION. THEREFORE,
THE ALLIES MAY NOT BE FACED WITH THE PROBLEM OF HAVING NOTH-
ING NEW TO SAY REGARDING PHASING. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE
QUESTION BE ADDRESSED LATER IF NECESSARY. HUMES

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